

16.

Mr. SIDNEY

HIS

SELF-CONVICTION:

Or, his

Dying-Paper

Condemn'd to Live, for a

CONVICTION

To the

Present F A C T I O N,

And a

CAUTION

T O

POSTERITY.

L O N D O N,

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Men, Brethren, and Fathers, &c.

Sidney. **I** *It may be expected, that I should now say some great matters unto you, but the Rigour of the Season, and the Infirmities of my Age, encreased by a close Imprisonment of five Months, doth not permit me.*

Answer. Indeed this Gentleman has made a great bussle in the World; for ever since his youth, he professes he has been engaged, in that horrid Cause of Blood: And it might very well be expected that he should have shewn himself a Christian, that he should have died in Charity, profess his Allegiance, confess his Crimes, and prayed for his Prosecutors as his best of Friends, in bringing him to condign Punishment; which was the most probable means to bring him to a sight of his guilt, and lead him to repentance.

The Rigour of the Season. should have prompted him to the same sentiments, in putting him in mind of a much sharper, which attends all heinous and ~~un~~repenting Criminals.

And his *Infirmities* should have been so many *Monitors* to him, to provide for his last Accompt, by wiping off the Scores of his too early Treason and Rebellion.

And if his *Infirmities* were so much encreased by his five Months *imprisonment*, his Recollection should have been so much the greater, that it might have call'd to his remembrance, how many worthy Persons

he had helpt to send to *Goal and Slaughter*; and should have taught him a more humble *Resignation* to the admirable discoveries and *Efforts* of Justice in such a due *Retaliation*; and have made him more compassionate, to such as have been *five Months* twelve times told, in durance, upon (hitherto) insufficient and dubious *Accusations*.

Sid. Moreover, saith this Gentleman, *We live in an Age, that maketh Truth pass for Treason: I dare not say any thing contrary to it, and the Ears of those that are about me, will probably be found too tender to hear it. My Tryal and Condemnation doth sufficiently evidence this.*

Answer. 'Tis true, he had lived in an Age wherein *Truth* had passed for *Treason*, and he was one of the Great Instruments that made it *Current* by his Practice; and therefore of all Men he had the least reason to say any thing to the contrary; and many Ears, which were about him, were too well inform'd to be deluded by his crafty and malicious *Insinuations*; which, that they were false and scandalous, his *Tryal and Condemnation* are sufficient Evidence to evince.

Sid. West, Rumsley, and Keeling, who were brought to prove the Plot, said no more of me, then that they knew me not; and some others equally unknown unto me, had used my Name, and that of some others, to give a little Reputation unto their Design.

Answer. What Design was this, but only to unmask their *Conspiracy*? Which was a Plot of so black and hellish a Complexion, that there needed no other Evidence for Mr. Sidney's Condemnation, then a Proof that he was engaged in it; and what clearer Evidence could be expected for a Matter of Fact, then the Attestation of *Accomplices*. These Witnesses were not *suborn'd* by *Bribes*, or engaged by *rescues* from wants and *beggary*, but instigated by conviction of Conscience, as well as prompt-

prompted, by certain knowledge, as *Parties* to the Conspiracy. 'Tis the *Honesty* of these Witnesses; the *Uprightness* of their Lives; the *Integrity* of their Manners their disengagement from *Self-Interest*, that gives Reputation to their Testimony.

Sid. 'Tis objected indeed against the Lord Howard, that he is too infamous by his Life, and the many Perjuries not to be denied, or rather sworn by himself, to deserve mention; and being a single Witness would be of no value, tho he had been of unblemish'd credit, or had not seen and confess'd, that the Crimes committed by him, would be pardoned only for committing more; and even the Pardon promised could not be obtain'd till the Drudgery of swearing was over.

Answer. Let us observe, how this Gentleman prevaricates to serve his own turn; he calls their wicked Conspiracy *God's Cause*, and such as were engaged in it, he styles *God's People*, and the best Protestants in England. Now I demand, was not my Lord Howard for that Cause? Was not he of that Party? Whatever his life might be, we are sure he was valued by them, when he was of their Association: Then all his Affirmations were *Authentick*; his Life and Manners no impeachment (in their good Opinion) to the carrying on of the *Old Cause*, which was their Common Design of Treason and Rebellion. Paper, p. 3.

That he confess so many Crimes against himself was his Ingenuity; but if they make him unfit to be a Witness, what shall we think of this Gentleman, who was Partner in the guilt? But that his Lordship said his Crimes would be pardoned only for committing more is a malicious slander; and so is the charge of Perjury, which he suggests to blast the honour of that Lord's Evidence.

'Tis true, that (as the E. of Anglesey has deposed)

Tryal, p. 36.

the Lord *Howard* to comfort and support the Earl of *Bedford*, &c. told his Lordship, he was not to be troubled, for he had a *discreet, a wife, and virtuous Son*, and he could not be in any such *Plot*,—— That his Lordship might expect a good issue of that business, and might believe his Son secure; for he believed, he was neither guilty, nor so much as to be suspected. He proceeded further also, and did say, that he knew of no such *Barbarous Design*, and could not charge my Lord *Russel* with it, or any body else.

This the Lord *Howard* said, but he did not deliver it upon *Oath*; and if we examine Mr. *Sidney's* own sayings, and denials at the time of his *Tryal*, he has said little less; and yet he and his friends ('tis probable) would take it ill, if we should call him *Perjur'd* for it: No Man was ever yet condemn'd, out of his own Mouth, upon words spoken at random or uttered occasionally to *palliate* a suspicion. Nor will any such loose discourse pass for sufficient Evidence. 'Tis the legal and juridical Examination and Requyry of the *Magistrate*, that gives life and vigour to a *Testimony*, and that makes the Lord *Howard's* evidence in Court beyond Exception.

And altho, such circumstances may sometimes occur as may make such a task uneasy, and entertain'd with some Regret, yet the Law does require it as a very necessary and Solemn Duty, and so it must be valued.

There are many cases, saith the *Casuis*t, in which it is not only lawful, but necessary to accuse the Delinquent. And every Man is bound to do it, when the Crimes are such, as do immediately impeach the *Publick Good* or mediately redound to a *Publick Mischief*; or grievously afflict or threaten any *Innocent Person*; if the damage can no other way be commodiously hindred; (and how much more does this oblige, when

when the *Publick Good*, and the *Innocent Person* are both involv'd in the same danger? The Reason is, because, by the Law of *Nature*, (which makes it a part of *Justice*) and out of *Charity*, whether toward the *Common-weal*, or towards a particular Neighbour, a Man is bound to use his utmost endeavour, if need requires, to prevent or remove such mischiefs.

To call this incumbent Duty a piece of *Drudgery*, I confess, was but a coarse Title : but 'tis not to be declin'd without a breach of *Charity*, in the general, and in this case 'twould have been a breach of *Justice* too. And if he be accounted an ill Man, who fails in a duty of *Justice* and *Charity* toward a Fellow-Subject; then he that stubbornly denies these Aids to his *Sovereign* (when his *Life* and *Crown* so eminently requires them) does detract his *Allegiance*, and in that denial of his duty, he becomes perjurd and commences Traytor *ipso Facto*; For the Tenour of his *Allegiance* is this.

I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and Him and Them will defend to the uttermost of my Power, against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against His or Their Persons; Their Crown and Dignity, — And will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known unto His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, all Treasons, and Traiterous Conspiracies, which I shall know or hear of to be against Him or any of them.

The Singularity of this Lord's Testimony does not make it Null in it self, tho insufficient; it seems, by a Law, which does not provide so fully for the safety of the King's Person and Government, as some other Laws have done; for the Property and Interest of the Subject: But *suppletory proofs* are allowed by all equal Judges and by all that are Judicious; and this Allowance is no less Rational then needful in case's

Ames Caf.
Confc. L. 5.
C. 54 N. 35, 36.

cases of this nature. In certain Crimes, says the *Casnist*, for the proof of which, morally speaking, there cannot be found or expected two Witnesses, as in *Adultery*, *Treason*, and such other works of darkness, other proofs may be sufficient, tho there be not *two Witnesses* to testify the same singular or individual Fact. . The Reason is, because as well the Nature of the thing, as the Publick Necessity, does make this exception from the general Rule. [And the *Casnists* in general do tell us further, That not only the *Notoriety* of the Fact, and the *Confession* of the Party, and the contents of *written Instruments*, but sometimes also *vehement and convincing Presumptions*, do obtain the force and supply the Place of a Testimony.]*

Now, if this were Mr. *Sidney's* word, his *Conceit* or *Motto* wherein he delighted, upon all occasions, to declare and boast his malice to Sovereign Princes, *Manus hæc inimica Tyrannis*, this hand is an Enemy to Tyrants ; if this were the *Cause* wherein he was engaged from his youth, if he employ'd his *Time* and *Wit*, his *Pen*, and *Sword*, to propagate and defend the Practice; if he held several *Consults*, and sent *Aaron Smith* into *Scotland* to sollicite a *Confederacy* there, and procure aid from thence to that effect, (whereof his profound silence in this his last Paper seems to be a tacite acknowledgment) after the Testimony of the Lord *Howard*, and so many *vehement Presumptions* in concurrence with it, what need is there of any further *Witness*? This is more then enough for a *supersedeas* to what Mr. *Sidney* alledgeth further in these words.

Sid. This being laid aside, the whole matter is reduced to the Papers said to be found in my Closet by the King's Officers, without any other Proof of their being written by me, than what is taken from suppositions upon the similitude of a hand that is easily counterfeited,
and

and which hath been lately declared, in the *Lady Car's* Case, to be no lawful Evidence in Criminals Cases.

Answer. How much this *Gentleman's* Case differs from my *Lady Car's* is left to the long *Robe* (whose profession it is) to determine.

But I cannot but observe, tho he would not be charged with those *Papers*, as the *Author* of them, yet he owns the contents, which he had at his Fingers end, and were the frequent Subject of his Discourse and the Rule of his Practice. And rather then they should be lost or buried with him, he thought fit to bequeath them as his last Legacy, to all the World, to Men, Brethren, and Fathers, and even to Strangers as well as to his Friends, and Country-Men; so that we may plainly see his Heart as well as his Hand in the Contrivance and Edition of them; he adds therefore these words following.

Sid. If I had been seen to write them, the matter would be much altered. They plainly appear to relate unto a large Treatise written long since in answer to *Filmer's* Book; which by all Intelligent Men, is thought to be grounded upon wicked Principles, equally pernicious unto Magistrates and People.

Answer. Whether the Book, he means be *Sir Robert Filmer's Patriarcha*, I cannot tell: But I suppose, therein that learned *Baronet*, has laid down his Principles with no less caution then judgment. And that all Intelligent Men do not think of them as Mr. *Sidney* would persuade us, is evident by the Epistle of Doctor *Hoylin* prefixed to it, who was esteemed as great a Judge of Books, in his time, as any that Age had bred; Thus he expresses his Judgment of it: Had he pleased to have suffered his Excellent Discourse call'd *Patriarcha* to appear in Publick, it would have given such satisfaction to all our great Masters in the Schools of Policy, that all other Tractates in that kind, had been found unnecessary.

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He that reads that excellent *Treatise*, with a deliberate Judgment and Sobriety, will not find it to be grounded upon such wicked Principles as is imagined. Mr. *Sidney*, as a skilful *Rhetorician*, might say, They are equally pernicious to *Magistrate* and *People*, when really they are so to neither, but highly *beneficial* to them both, where they are duly and well observ'd.

Sid. But (says Mr. *Sidney*.) If he might publish unto the World his Opinion, That all Men are born under a *Necessity* deriv'd from the *Laws of God and Nature*, to submit to an absolute *Kingly Government*, which could be restrained by no *Law or Oath*; and that he that hath the *Power*, whether he came unto it by *Creation*, *Election*, *Inheritance*, *Usurpation*, or any other way, had the *Right*, and none must oppose his will, but the *Persons and Estates of his Subjects* must be indispensably subject unto it, &c.

Acts 17. 26.

Answer. I desire the impartial Reader to peruse Sir *Robert Fulmer's Patriarcha*, and to take his sense in his own words, for his clearer satisfaction. Do we not believe, that of one Blood God hath made all Nations of Men? Was *Adam* to take his measures of Dominion from his own *Cradle*? Was he to consult his Children, how they would let him govern them? If he were to enter into *Articles* with his own *Posterity*, who was to be intrusted to draw them up? and if he were to take an *Oath* to be just and equal to them, who is supposed to have the Authority to impose it?

When God says, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother*, does he not command *Subjection and Obedience*? But where shall we find the *Limitation*? Why, in this Case, the *Law of God and Nature*, which lays a *Necessity* upon the duty of the Child does likewise put a restraint upon the Authority of the Parent, and God himself who is the Author of Nature, will take an account of it.

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That there is a *Præheminence* in the Title of *Primogeniture* is out of Question. This was old *Jacob's* Principle upon his Death-Bed, *Reuben, Thou art my First-born, my Might, and the Beginning of my strength, the Excellency of Dignity, and the Excellency of Power.* This was his *Natural Prerogative*, tho he forfeited it by his *Incest*; *Because thou wentest up to thy Father's Bed, therefore shalt thou not excell*: And *Abel* being the younger Brother, if *Cain* had not murdered him, 'tis clear, he had had *Dominion* over him; for so God tells *Cain, His desire shall be subject unto Thee, and Thou shalt rule over him.* And when God is pleas'd to exalt *David* above all other Princes, how does he confer that *super-eminent Dignity*, but by the title of *Primogeniture*? *I will make him my first Born, higher then the Kings of the Earth.* And God will have liberty to govern the World his own way, in spite of *Mr. Sidney's* Politicks.

Colof. 1. 18.

Gen. 49. 3.

Ib. v. 4.

Gen. 4. 7.

Psal. 89. 27.

We acknowledge God's *Prerogative* with a profound Humility and Reverence; *That the Most High ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will; That he changeth the Times and the Seasons, that he removeth Kings, and setteth up Kings.* And yet we never find that he changed the Nature and Form of Government upon the miscarriage of the Governour.

Dan. 4. 32.

Dan. 2. 21.

The Pride and Insolency of *Nebuchadnezzar* was a mighty Provocation in the Eyes of Heaven, and transform'd him into a Beast; yet was not his Kingdom degraded into a Democracy. Upon his Restauration he informs us thus, *For the glory of my Kingdom, mine Honour and Brightness returned to me, and my Counsellors, and my Lords sought unto me; And I was established in my Kingdom, and excellent Majesty was added to me.*

Dan. 4. 36.

To take up the exorbitant Practices of turbulent Times, and evil Persons, is to follow the example of
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the most wicked Generation of *Scribes* and *Pharisees*; And we may very well answer all such *Presidents*, in the words of Christ, *From the beginning it was not so.*

A Writing of *Divorcement* is not to be pleaded against the *Divine Institution* : And we must make a vast difference betwixt that which is *tolerated* for the *hardness* of mens Hearts, and that which is *warranted* by the *Holy Writ* and the *Pattern* on the Mount.

Sid. But says Mr. *Sidney*; (without any respect to the worth and quality of that learned *Baronet*.) *If Filmer has published such a Book to the World, I know not, why I might not have published my Opinion to the contrary.*

Answer. The Gentleman is very much mistaken in this Opinion, for there is no reason in the World, that equal liberty should be allowed, to propagate Sedition, and to persuade Obedience: Because 'tis lawful to have Publick Schools to teach the Arts and Sciences, or the *Doctrine* of the Gospel, may we therefore plead for the setting up of *Academies* to instruct Men in Vice and Wickedness?

But the Gentleman having sufficiently inveighed against the Book, and Principles of Sir *Robert Filmer*, he comes to write and lays down his own; the first whereof is this.

(*Sid. I.*) *That God had left Nations unto the liberty of setting up such Governments as best pleas'd themselves.*

Answer. If there be any such confused *Rabble* of absolute *Independents* to be found, he must seek for them in *Utopia*, or the *Ile of Pines*; and then, before they can come to an Agreement about their Form of Government (having no Master *Bee* in the whole swarm, to command) they must cast *Lots*, who shall be their

Speakers,

Speaker, who shall call and manage their *Assembly*, and who shall *dissolve it*, when (at least if ever they can agree and tell when) their *Dispute* and *Business* will be ended. *Mr. Sidney* might have made short work of it, if he could have named those Nations, to whom God had left that *Liberty*, and had produced their *Charters* for it. But we are sure the Children of *Israel* met with no such Nations in all their Travels; witness that Demand of theirs to *Samuel*, *Make us a King* 1 Sam. 8. 5. to judge us like all the Nations. We find no such exempt Nations in the Books of *Moses*, or the *Prophets*; no such in the *Visions* of *Daniel*, or the *Revelation*; no such among the *Evangelists* or the *Epistles* of the *Apo-* Dan. 7. 8.

bles. If God should create a Multitude of Men at once, and by some miraculous Gale of Providence, bring them upon a Land in one Night, as he did the swarms of *Locusts* into the Land of *Egypt*; we might well imagine, he would give them as much Sagacity as he gave those *Locusts*, to gather together into Bands for their own safety; tho, at present, they had no King over them. Prov. 30. 27.

But that God hath left Nations at Liberty to throw off their *Sovereign Rulers*, and to set up a *New Government*, after their own lusts; this is that which must be well Proved; and they must shew us an *Authentick Charter* sign'd from Heaven, that grants them such a Privilege; otherwise, God has taught us to esteem such a Practice no better than *Rebellion*.

(*Sid. 2.*) *Mr. Sidney* says further, *That Magistrates were set up for the good of Nations, not Nations for the honour and glory of Magistrates.*

Answer. What this Gentleman would infer from hence we may guess, tho he has not expressly told us. The Apostle tells us, *the Man was not made for the Woman*,

but the Woman for the Man; has a Man liberty therefore to cut his Wifes Throat? In the setting up of Magistrates we are to consider a twofold end; (1.) Finis Cui, For whose sake it was set up. Doubtless it was for Mah's sake: And so was Christ incarnate, for us Men, and for our Salvation, he came down from Heaven; What then? If we like not the Condition of his Empire, and the Administration of his Government, may we turn Jew presently, and cry out, Nolumus Hunc Regnare: We will not have this Man to reign over us?

(2) There is *Finis Cujus*, the End and Purpose for which the Magistrate is established; and that is *good Order and Government; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godliness and Honesty.* And if the King's Honour be in the *Multitude* of his Subjects, 'tis much more certainly in their *Virtue and Fidelity.*

And if God sets not up Magistrates for their own Glory (which he can never prove: God having declared Himself in several instances to the contrary) yet undoubtedly he does it for his own; and his Glory is highly celebrated many times by their exemplary Justice.

'Tis for God's glory that *Achan* should be stoned, that such as make *Insurrections* against *Moses* and *Aaron* should be made a *sign* or Monument of Terror to the Seditious, that such as threaten the Life and Safety of the King, or slander the *steps* of God's Anointed, should be brought to condign Punishment.

(*Sid. 3.*) This Gentleman says further, *That the Right and Power of Magistrates in every Country, was that, which the Laws of that Country made it to be.*

Answer. (1) This is a Paradox, and wants a solid Proof to make it good. For what Laws does he mean? And when, and where, and by whom were such Laws enacted?

1 Tim. 2. 2.

Prov. 14. 28.

* Gen. 12. 2.

17. 20.

Exod. 32. 10.

enacted? If *such* Laws there be, they must be made, either *before* or *after* the Magistrate was established: If *before*; Then there were *Laws* before there was a *Law-giver*: If *after*; Then, they could not be the Instrument to convey the *Right* and *Power* to the Magistrate, for 'tis supposed, he was constituted and established *before* them.

(2) Upon this Ground we run into an absurd and endless *Circle*, as we charge the *Roman* Catholics, when they prove the *Infallibility* of their Church by the *Authority* of the Holy Scriptures, and then, the *Authority* of the Holy Scriptures by the *Infallibility* of their Church. Thus Mr. *Sidney* makes the Magistrate to give *Life*, and *Power*, to the *Law*; and then (that the *Law* may be out of his Debt,) he makes it to give *Life*, and *Power* to the Magistrate.

(3) Such *Laws* (at least if we look home to our own Constitution) are but the Instruments of *Recognition* in the Subject, not of *Establishment* to the Prince: Tho he *Accepts* of those Acts of Recognition, and gives his *Fiat* to them, yet his *Right* is *Antecedently* inherent in Himself, and settled before they are made: Such *Laws* do not create, but declare the Authority and Prerogative of the Sovereign; and by them the Subject does not confer that Authority and Prerogative, but only recognize and acknowledge it.

(*Sid. 4.*) He says further; That those *Laws* are to be observed, and the Oaths taken by them, having the force of a contract between Magistrate and People, cannot be violated without danger of dissolving the whole Fabrick.

Answer. 1. 'Tis a voluntary Oath which the King takes at his Coronation; there is no competent Authority to impose it; Hereupon the Arch-Bishop does not say to the King, *Thou shalt swear*, but, *Art thou pleased that our upright Laws and Customs be observed*; and
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the Sovereign is King, not by *contract*, but by *Inheritance*, and *Succession*; and yet, I say, in Conscience his *Oath* is to be observ'd.

But then we should do well to remember, that the King is obliged by that *Oath*, to defend the Church in her *Estate*, in her *Rights*, and *Government*; and to cause his Subjects to conform to her *Laws* and *Discipline*; for the *Arch-Bishop's* demand is this; *Pleaseth it you to confirm and observe the Laws and Customs of ancient Times, granted from God, by Just and Devout Kings, unto the English Nation, by Oath unto the said People; especially the Laws, Liberties, and Customs granted unto the Clergy, and Laity, by the famous King Edward; to which the King answers Affirmatively. And the first Chapter of Magna Charta says thus: First, We have granted to God, and by this our present Charter have confirmed for us and our Heirs for ever, that the Church of England shall be free, and shall have all her whole Rights and Liberties inviolable.*

(2) Would Mr. Sidney and his Fanatick Party have the King keep this *Oath* inviolable? No; they would force him to break it; and then fight against him, because (as they pretend in other instances) he did not keep it. 'Tis not the *Sacred Tie* of his *Oath*, which they desire His Majesty should keep inviolable, (for then they must needs, in Conscience, think their own *Oath* of *Allegiance* binding to themselves.)

'Tis not what His Majesty hath sworn, but only what themselves would have *done* or *undone*, that they would have him keep inviolable.

By his *Oath* the King is pleas'd to give His People Assurance, that he will maintain their *upright Laws* and *Customs*, and that in all his Judgments *Indifferent* and *Upright Justice* shall be administer'd, and that he will use *Discretion* therein with *Mercy* and *Verity*. And 'tis

'tis a Maxime of Sir Robert Filmers, that a King governing in a settled Kingdom, leaves to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, so soon as He ceases to Rule according to his Laws.

(3) But because, some Laws may be *Inconvenient*, *Rigorous*, and *Doubtful*, and some possibly may be made in a juncture of Time to serve a Prevailing Party, which are not so *upright*, as they should be; therefore there must be a *Power* somewhere not only to *Interpret* and *mitigate* such Laws, but also to *suspend*, *alter*, and *repeal* them.

This Power must be suppos'd to be *above* the Law; and if there could be any *Contract* to restrain the Practice of it, the condition of such Subjects would be more miserable then can easily be imagined.

In all contingencies *summum jus* must be their final Award and sentence; and whatever *misfortune*, *mistake* or *Passion* might be alledged to extenuate and lessen the Guilt, yet execution must be done according to the *Letter* of the Law, in the utmost *Rigour* of it; for as Mr. *Sidney's* Doctrine doth suppose, the Magistrate is under a *contract*, and that must not be *violated* for fear the whole *Fabrick* of the Government should be dissolv'd and overwhelm us in the Ruines of it.

But the truth is. The *Royal, Sovereign* or *Supream* Magistrate has a Law *Paramount*, which every Wise and Gracious Prince imposes upon himself. *Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto*; the safety of the People, that's his great and general Rule; which yet he should never suffer to be apply'd but by his own Hand and Judgment. According to this Rule, He has Power, not only to *enact* new Laws, but also to *mitigate* or *suspend*, to *Alter* or *Repeal*, all such as shall be thought fit to be *Repeal'd* or *Alter'd*, *mitigated* or *suspended*.

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This is the King's *Prerogative* and every Man, at one time or other, sues to reap the benefit, and is glad to make use of it; and this is exactly according to that Law, which the King swears to maintain; nor can the Subject be safe, or the Government stand without it.

(*Sid. 5.*) He says, *That Usurpation can give no Right; and the most dangerous of all Enemies unto Kings are They, who raising their Power to an exorbitant Height, allow unto Usurpers all the Rights belonging unto it.*

Answer. The Sovereign Power (not to speak of the *Exercise and Administration* of it) may be considered, as to the *Original and Nature* of it, or as to its *Adeption, Acquisition, and Purchase*. If we consider the *Nature and Original* of it, 'tis God that raiseth Kings to that height of Sovereign Power which they are invested with. *Cyrus* was his *Shepherd*, and the *Roman Emperors* his *Ministers*. God saith, *By me Kings Reign, and, I have said ye are Gods.* Their Power is from God, and without it they cannot perform their Office, and therefore we must not censure it as *exorbitant*.

As to the *Adeption and Purchase* of this Power, we easily grant that *Usurpation* can give no Right, but to *Damnation* for it. Yet an injur'd Prince may be reduc'd to such Circumstances, as to conclude it his most prudent course quietly to set down, and consult his own safety, and to wait God's leisure for the advantage of a seasonable Revolution.

Many *Emergencies* of Providence may fall under Consideration; the Line of Succession may be cut off, or it may be intangled, and the Title to the Crown Dubious; or the Competitors tir'd out by Time, and the Toyls of War; and having their Passions drown'd in a Sea of Blood, may *relent*, and come to a Compassionate and Pru-

Prudential Com-promise. There was great humanity in *Abner's* Argument to *Joab*, and 'twas very persuasive and effectual; *Shall the Sword devour for ever? Knowest thou not that it will be bitterness in the latter end?* 2 Sam. 2. 26.

In extraordinary cases we must suffer our selves to be over-rul'd by Divine Providence, when we have good Assurance that God will have it so. But we must have a care we do not recede from our bounden Duty, because we meet with the *Cross* and Affliction in it. Sometimes God will have us, *Wait upon him in the way of his Judgments.* Isai. 26. 6.

When a sinful People grows ripe for vengeance, some there will be, that are fit to make a *Rod*; and commonly, when the *Drudgery* of scourging is over, their *Pride*, and *Malice*, makes them fit for nothing but the *Fire*.

Whatever the Dispensation be, we should consider, that, tho' God does tie up our hands, he does not bind his own. And tho', He does not always disclose his own Counsel, yet *he hath shewed thee, O Man, what is good!* And what doth the Lord thy God require of thee? But, *to do Justice, and to love Mercy, to fear God, and the King, and not to meddle with the Seditions, the Men that are given to change.*

But when a Prince is oppress'd by a Potent and prevailing Faction, and condescends to a *Dedition* of himself, and his Sovereign Interest (for the Safety of Himself and Subjects) to some Friend or Allie, whom He hath invited to his Assistance; the Power that comes into the hands of such an *Auxiliary* (not by force, but by consent upon such a *voluntary surrendry*) is fairly and legally acquired; and he that has it is not to be lookt upon as an *Usurper*, but as *Possessor bonæ fidei*, as a Just and Rightful Owner of the Sovereignty, and ought not to be resisted.

F. Hammond
on Mat. 22. 20.
and note b.

This was the very Case of the *Jewish Nation*; upon the death of *Alexander*, a Contention arose betwixt his two Sons, *Hircanus* and *Arifobulus* about the Kingdom; *Arifobulus*, the younger, gets Possession, & *Hircanus* seeks to the *Romans* for Redress: Makes a *Dedition* of himself, and Party to Them; and to be rescued from the *Usurpation* of a younger Brother, and Fellow-Subjects, They choose to subject themselves to a *Confederate*.

Such Cases as these do easily decide themselves, and create no difficulty for a Debate: The great question is about a wild and bold *Usurper*, who has no claim at all to enter, besides the colourable Title, which he has purchased by the *success* of his Usurpation.

Of such a *Prosperous Miscreant*, I shall say no more but this, that having been so much a *Knave* as to *usurp* a Power (having thriven so well in the Attempt,) He will not be so much a *Fool* as to suffer Himself to be troden down by them, whom he has got under him; tho he has had the help and service of their own hands for his Advancement. [Nor does Almighty God always clip the Wings of such an *Usurper's* Power; because He is ordained for Judgment, and must be allow'd a *sufficient* Power to do his work effectually, upon such as have fitted Themselves for Wrath and Vengeance.]

Habuck. 1. 12.

God in his most Wise and Just Providence is pleas'd to use all fair means to prevent *Tumults* and *Insurrections*; but when Men do *Project* to shake off a Just and Easie *Toak* by wicked means, either to relieve Themselves from some little Burthens, or to reap some great Advantage thereby; 'tis just and usual with God, eventually to defeat their Design, and to deny a success suitable to their expectation: He will not suffer Them to mend their Condition by their change of Masters, that they may not have that Temptation to invite them to Rebellion. And many times he doth

To order the Matter, in the Justice of his Dispensation, that the Condition of the Seditious is made much worse by their Ingratitude to a gracious Sovereign: The Fire comes out of the Bramble, and devours not only such Shrubs, but the Cedars also which abet them: When They refuse the Waters of Shiloah which go softly, God threatens to bring upon them a force of violence like a Torrent and Inundation. Judg. 9. 15. Isa. 8. 6, 7.

But suppose the Prince should be a Tyrant, and walk by no other Rule then his own Lust, (for amongst Factionous and Seditious Men this is often the Pretence, tho, in truth, seldom the real Grievance;) but, for once, let us suppose the very worst: He that makes an Insurrection to depose a Tyrant, if he intends to set up Himself (and has no just Title) He does but cast out Devils by Beelzebub: If he designs a Popular Government, then in pulling down one Tyrant, he sets up forty; I appeal to the Chronicles of England, whether the worst of our Lawful Kings, did ever commit such barbarous, and bloody Outrages, as the Republicans of the Rump-Parliament, and Cromwell's Army?

(6) Sidney. This Gentleman goes on and tells us, That such Usurpations being seldom compassed without the slaughter of the reigning Person or Family, the worst of all Villanies was thereby rewarded with the most glorious Priviledges: He says also, That if such Doctrines were receiv'd they would stir up Men to the Destruction of Princes with more violence then all the Passions that have hitherto raged in the Hearts of the most unruly.

Answer. 'Tis well known, such Doctrines have been too much preach'd, too much receiv'd, and practis'd; and Subjects have been stir'd up to the Destruction of their Princes, with a Hellish, which is more then a Brutish violence.

Have we not had a sort of Men who have call'd Themselves a *Parliament*? (The thing Mr. *Sidney* so much dotes on, when it is the Peoples Creature;) Would they not have given *Cromwell* the Title of the Lords Anointed? Did they not court Him to take the Crown, for his great Service of Rebellion and Regicide? We have a Catalogue of their *Committee*, appointed April 9. 1657. The Names of their Persons are printed in words at length, with their Number 99. These were chosen Men, and Men of *Renown*; we have their several *Speeches* and *Addressses* to that effect: They are all comprised in a little Book, call'd (what in truth it is) *Treasons Master-piece*, printed for *Daniel Major*, at the *Hand and Scepter* in *Fleet-street*, 1680.

I shall not follow their example in making my self an *Advocate* for Rebellion, or in giving the Title of God's Anointed to an *Usurper*; but to the Honour of *Sir Robert Filmer* be it remembred, That he did never favour an *Usurper*, never sided with *Cromwell*, never afforded the least good look towards the late Rebellion. And as it highly justifies the Zeal of the Loyal Party, who out of a Detestation of those Villanies which *Usurpers* do commit, have declar'd their *Abhorrence* of all *Addressses* that look that way, and engaged their *Lives* and *Fortunes* to support the Crown and to transmit the *Descent* of it in a right Line, to preserve *Successions*. So it does as highly condemn such as have been, and are still against it; who are the very Men that would reward the worst of all *Villanies* with the most glorious *Priviledges*.

But it seems this *Hector* for *Democracy* had no fondness for those glittering Baits of Honour and Advantage, which commonly tempt *Usurpers* to rebel: He loved *Treason* (as a *Mistress* without a *Dowry*) purely for *Treasons* sake; or else he had an *Antipathy* to all *Sovereign Power*, and set Himself stiffly to oppose it, be-
cause:

cause He could not endure that any Man should be
a size above Him in the Government.

(7) *Sidney.* (The Gentleman adds) *That none could
be safe if such a Reward were propos'd unto Any that
could destroy Them* (meaning *Princes*;) *That few would
be so gentle as to spare even the Best, if by their Destru-
ction a wild Usurper could become God's Anointed,*
and by the most execrable Wickedness invest Himself
with that Divine Character.

Answer. 'Tis somewhat strange this Gentleman
should so bitterly inveigh against the Villanies and
execrable Wickedness of Usurpers, when He confesses,
He had been engaged in the Old Cause (which was Re-
bellion) from his Youth; and was at the very same time,
when He wrote this Paper, condemned for a Conspiracy.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de Seditiōe querentes?

But Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft; and this was
one Symptom of the fascination; for he writes nothing
here but his own story, or his own Life and Actions in
Epitome.

For Passion raging in his unruly Heart, he was not so
gentle as to spare even the best of Kings, tho His own
Leige Lord and Sovereign; nor to stick at the Perpe-
tration of the most execrable Wickedness, to compass
His Destruction; and as He had a Hand in the murder
of one King, so He had his Head engaged in complot-
ting the Ruine of another: But I hope we have seen an
end of such Atcheivements.

'Tis true some Men are bold and daring in venturing
at a Crown: But (that's not a Bait for common teeth to
bite at) their success does not always answer Expecta-
tion; in stead of those Glorious Priviledges They aim at,
They are many times rewarded with an Ax or Halter.

He must have a very long Arm who attempts to
grasp a Crown: To Ascend the Throne, there's more

in.

In it then *up and Ride* ; 'tis possible He that gets his foot into the *Stirrup*, may never be able to *Mount* the *Saddle*.

He that makes away his lawful Sovereign by a base *Assassination* is odious unto all Men : He becomes a *Terror* to Himself, He *lives in fear*, and *dyes within-famy* ; Had *Zimri* Peace who *flew his Master* ?

All the ways which Policy can invent to acquire, and compass (such) great Enterprizes (as a witty Gentleman hath observ'd) are either by open and hostile Forces, or by secret and subtil craft, or with plausible Pretences to delude the People, or with Reason, and Arguments to persuade the Sages and Grandees of a Kingdom ; these are the ordinary Engines of Policy.

To defeat a *Lawful Prince*, and out Him of his Kingdom, the *Usurper* must be a Man of great *Temper* and *Conduct*, instructed in all the subtil Arts of *Insinuation*, with a vast Talent of *Hypocrisie*, and a *cunning Craftiness* to deceive : He must have a *sage and wary Council*, a *Fund of Wealth*, an *Interest of Friends*, a *Confederacy of Forces*, a *Magazine of Arms*, with *Places of Strength* for his *Shelter and Retreat*.

When He is thus well provided, (which is the work of an Age to compass) He is still doubtful of Success ; and in common course of Providence, the odds is twenty to one against Him ; which puts me in mind of a *Distich*, made upon the *leading Members* of the *Faction* in *Forty one*,

Princes are we if we prevail,
And Gallant Villains if we fail.

But the greatest *Buckler* and *Safe-guard* of a Prince is the *Divine Favour and Protection*, God can blast the *Politicks* of the subtillest *Achitophel*, he can *insatuate* the *Usurper's Councils*, and defeat his designs, he can

confound the devices of the Seditious, and Scatter the People that delight in War; in a word, He can either melt the Heart of the Traitor, or discover the Conspiracy.

Great deliverances giveth He unto his King, and hath delivered Charles his Servant from the malignant Sword.

Our Soul is escaped even as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowler, the Snare is broken, and we are delivered.

Our help standeth in the Name of the Lord our God.

To conclude this Paragraph, The Doctrines of this Gentleman and his Fanatick Party, are not only apt to stir up Men to the Destruction of Princes, but are calculated directly for it; which can never be justly charged upon any of our Maxims.

For we say, the most Legal and Just Possession of a Crown gives no Title to the Kingdom of Heaven; and 'tis possible a Man may have the Vial of Holy Oyl poured upon his Head (which does derive the Title of God's Anointed to Him) and yet want that Character of Grace which should fit him for the Throne of Glory; what great Temptation then can it possibly be imagined, to snatch, with so much Hazard and Injustice, at the Possession of a Temporal Crown, when we are told, for certain, that there is no less then a heavy Woe, and a bitter Curse, and a dreadful Vengeance, and a horrible Damnation, entail'd upon the Sacrilegious Usurpation; this is our Belief, and the Doctrine we profess.

But to animate and inflame their Godly Party, they boggle not to call their Rebellion God's Cause, nor to stile such as are engaged in it God's People: They are dubb'd Saints under the Banner of Sedition, and wheeled on with the Promises of Glorious Priviledges in this.

this Life, and if they fall in the Cause, they are told, *They die Martyrs*, and have the Kingdom of Heaven insured to Them by their factious Preachers.

He that can believe he may invest himself with such Divine Characters, and immense Advantages, by the most execrable wickedness of *Rebellion*, how can he be so stupid as to stand still, or so great a Coward as to stand out against the charms of such solicitations?

Sid. This, Mr. Sidney says, is the scope of the whole Treatise (wherein) the Writer gives such Reasons as at present did occur unto him to prove it.

This seems (he says) to agree with the Doctrines of the most Reverenced Authors, of all Times, Nations and Religions, the best and wisest of Kings have ever acknowledged it.

Answer. For the Rights of Dominion, the Measures of Obedience, and the Iniquity of Rebellion, the Reader may find them better stated in several Books lately published, then in Mr. Sidney's Papers.

The French King, no doubt, is an Enemy to *Usurpation*, and so was King James: But they are brought in here speaking (thus) to another purpose.

Sid. The present King of France hath declared, That Kings have that happy want of Power, that they can do nothing contrary to the Laws of their Country; and grounds his quarrel with the King of Spain, 1667. upon that Principle. King James in his Speech to the Parliament, Anno 1603. doth in the highest degree assert it; the Scripture seems to declare it.

Answer. The Scripture doth so fully and so expressly assert, the Rights and uncontrollable Power of Princes, that this Gentleman dares not rely upon their Authority, but only says, they seem to declare the contrary.

He that is so taken with the French Kings Compliment

ment may have leave, for ought I know, to be so happy
as to settle himself under his Dominion.

King James said no more in that matter than what
his Successors have exactly practised; what great op-
pressions can They be justly charged with? What real
grievances have They not redressed? What have They
done that concerns the Publick, which some great
Lawyers have not justified to be consonant to Their
Prerogative, with the Laws and Customs of this King-
dom? We should do well to remember the *Bill* for
Ship-Money, and the *Petition of Right*; to forget
the *High-Commission*, the *Star-Chamber*, and the *Court*
of Wards, were too foul and shameless an ingratitude;
to name no more, was the *Habeas Corpus Act*, a rais-
ing the *Prerogative* to an exorbitant height? Or the
Effort of an *Arbitrary Power*? What our Saviour said
unto the Jews, *Many good works have I shewn you from*
my Father, for which of these works do you stone me? The
like may the King apply to his peevish and stubborn
Subjects, *Many Acts of Grace have I passed in favour of*
you; for which of these do ye conspire against me? For
the truth is, He hath stript himself so much of his *Pre-*
rogative, that a more *Jeber* Generation may become
so *Useful* and *Dutiful*, as to think some *Act of Resump-*
tion needful to support the Government: And if our
blessed Lord should think fit to send an *Epistle* to King
Charles the Second, doubtless some of the *Contents*
would be such as were sent to the Angel of the Church
of *Philadelphia*, *These things saith He that is Holy, He*
that is True, He that hath the Key of David, &c. Hold
that fast which thou hast, that no Man take thy Crown.
[But there are a Generation of *Murmurers* and *Com-*
plainers, walking after their own lusts, and their Mouth
speaketh great swelling words, having Mens Persons in
admiration, because of advantage. These delight to

Apoc. 3. 11.

Jude Epist.
V. 16.

*transform their Governours into Monsters, and den-
by them as the Persecutors of old did by the best of
Christians, whom they clothed in the Skins of wild
Beasts, to animate the Dogs to tear them.*

To this Purpose, 'tis well observ'd by the Gentle-
men of the *long Robe*, who managed the charge against
Him, That whatsoever is said (in his Book) of
the Expulsion of *Tarquin*; the Insurrection against
Nero; the slaughter of *Caligula*, or *Domitian*; The
Translation of the Crown of *France*, from *Meroveus* his
Race unto *Pepin*; and from his Descendants unto *Hugh
Capet*, and the like are applied by *Innuendo's* unto the
King; For tho' he did not literally, and expressly make
the King concerned in them, yet, he could not forbear
to read his own riddle, and tell the World what use
was to be made of those Examples.

For, of such translations of the Crown; of such Ex-
pulsions, Insurrections, and Slaughters, he tells such
as he thinks fit to inform; That,

(*Sid.*) *They have not considered, that if such Acts of
State be not good, there is not a King in the World that
has any Title to the Crown he bears; nor can have any,
unless He could deduce his Pedigree from the Eldest Son
of Noah, and shew that the Succession had still continued
in the Eldest of the Eldest Line, and been so deduced to him.*

Answer. This Gentleman, is in a great mistake
about the Sons of *Noah*; For, though in all the *Line*
before Him there were none of the Sons and Daugh-
ters mentioned, but the *Elder Son* only, yet when He
comes to *Noah's* Posterity, he mentions his Three Sons
by Name, *Noah* begat *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, and
herein He observes not the *Order of Nature*; but men-
tions the *younger* first, alluding to his *Dignity*; for in-
deed they were to be so many Absolute and Independ-
ent Princes, as well as Heads of distinct Families;
where-

wherefore having reckoned them up in Order with their Issue, *Moses concludes thus, These are the Families of the Sons of Noah after their Generations, in their Nations; and by these were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood.* See Gen .y. & 10 Chap- ters.

Having intimated thus much for clearing that mistake, we may observe plainly, that 'tis his Design, to question, and shake all the Crowns in Christendom, and to render their *Tenure* dubious; that from the uncertainty of their Title, the People may have some excuse to Rebel, & the better colour to Depose their Sovereigns.

And yet, He pretends herein to do all Princes a great kindness. That we may understand his meaning, his words are these:

Sid. Every one may see what advantage this would be to all the Kings of the World; and whether that failing, (He means that Elder Line failing) it were not better for them to acknowledge they had received their Crowns by the consent of willing Nations, or to have no better Title to them, than Usurpation and Violence, which by the same ways may be taken from them.

Answer. 'Tis true; for all History tells us, That Thrones and Scepters have been frequently translated from one Line and Family to another; nor can it be denied, that through God's permission, and for some ends of Providence, the Acquisition of Dominion, the Purchase and Possession of a Crown, may be attempted by ill means, and the Administration of it may be culpable too: Yet, for all this, the Sovereign Power itself, is God's Ordinance, and He that is invested with it, God's Minister; and being duly settled, (that He may not be found to be *mala fidei* Possessor; but legally established) process of Time gives Him a fair Pre-emption: And then his Person and Authority (which make up the Magistrate or Sovereign) are not to be isolated.

Where the *Wisdom, Power, and Justice* of Almighty God (in his Providence, over Humane Affairs) are acknowledged and had in *Veneration*, that is, where *Religion* bears sway; there this Doctrine is stedfastly believed.

'Tis suggested by a *Parliament*, (25 Hen.8. C.22.) That the *Great and inviolable Grants of Jurisdictions* to Emperors, Kings, and Princes in *Succession* to their *Heirs* (are) by God immediately.

'Tis certain, of all the ways of coming to the Crown, That of *Succession by Inheritance* is the most *Natural* and carries the clearest *Stamp and Impression of Divine Right*. 'Tis the most *steady, secure, and easy*, to the *Prince*; the most *quiet, safe, and beneficial* to the *Subject*; and, all things weigh'd in an even *Ballance*, 'tis the most *happy* to Them both.

Wherefore all *Wise, and sober Men* do highly value this Title of *Succession*. They are most *indear'd* to it, and study to preserve it. Such as do otherwise, are the *Flagrant, and Ambitious*, who may emulate, but cannot truly love their *Sovereign*, and if They be, upon any Account, obnoxious to his *Justice*, They look upon him with a *timorous suspicion*, and their *Jealousie* keeps Them always on their *Guard*. And because, They think they cannot defend themselves against Him otherwise, They are continually in *Agitation*, by one means or other, to depress and weaken Him, till They have brought Him so low, that they are able to tread Him under; and then (if they can see Him aside, to secure their own *Crimes*, and gratify their *Ambition*) They take the *Sovereign Power* into their own Possession.

For other Sorts of Men, who are apt to disturb the Government by *Succession*, they are either *Poor and Indigent*, whose *Necessities* make them *Keen and Baga*

to fish in troubled Waters: Or the *Maligant* and *Forward*, who are stimulated by their own Malice, Discontent, and Envy, to fly in the face of their Superiors: or lastly, the *Fanatical* and *New-fangled*, whose humour does very much resemble that of fond and wayward Children, who long for the Approach of a *New Fair*, tho commonly it brings Them home no other Prize, than a *New Nothing*.

Such Men as are carried by the *Bias* of their own Inclination to disturb the Government and Succession, will be forward enough, no doubt, to wheedle others into their Conspiracy.

The gilded *Hook*, with the surprizing *Bait*, They usually throw out to this effect, is the false and cheating, the Plausible Pretence of *Liberty* and *Reformation*. And to make this seem no less needful than Reasonable, (tho really they are only the Laws in force that grieve them, as checking their attempts of Innovations;) They suggest, with all the Malice and Artifice they can, the danger of an *Arbitrary Power*, and the *Change of our Religion*, which no Body but themselves can see, because none but themselves do infallibly design to introduce them.

But to return from this short (tho not impertinent) digression, this Gentleman has no Fancy to the *Divine Right* of Government, and therefore He would advise Princes to lay aside that *Plea*; and to take a *Title* from the consent of willing Nations. This I confess would suit best with his Design and Purpose; it would much weaken the Prince's claim and Interest; for that Dominion is but *Prekarious* which is founded on the Grace and favour of the People; for such as have but little *veneration* for the Government, when they are told this undoubtedly *God's Ordinance*, will have much less, when they know it is nothing but their own, and they will

will be the more ready to throw it off with *Scandalous Violence*, upon all Occasions.

His willing Nation may set up a *Rump-Parliament*, or (which is all one,) may choose a *Factions Party*, that will turn out, all *Loyal and Sober Members*, and set up Themselves: And then 'tis possible, They may imagine mischief and fall into a Consult, *How to cast*

Psalm. 62. 3, 4. Him down from his Excellency, whom God will exalt.

Such a Faction among the Jews shamefully rejected their *Messias, the King of Saints*; because he did not appear in such a State of *Splendour*, as might gratifie their *Pride and Carnal Lusts*: they took up this Resolution: *Nolumus Hunc Regnare*, We will not have this Man to Reign over us. And tho they knew Him to be the *Right Heir*, yet they pass'd this Vote against Him, *Come let us kill Him and seize upon his Inheritance*. This is a most certain Truth, the right humour of this Gentleman's *Willing-Nation*; and after the Example of our Saviour, we have the *Experience* of our own Times to make it plain and evident.

Sid. This Gentleman pleads further, *That, if nevertheless the Writer was mistaken, he might have been refuted by Law, Reason, and Scripture; and no Man for such matters was ever otherwise punished, than by being made to see his Error; and it hath not (as I think) been ever known, that they had been referred to the Judgment of a Jury, composed of Men utterly unable to comprehend them.*

Answer. Matters of *harmless Speculation* ('tis true) we may freely debate of, *pro and con*, for diversion and discourse; but for such *Doctrines* as are pernicious to the *Crowns*, and *Lives of Princes*, he that writes them with the point of his Sword in Blood, as *Mr. Sidney* hath done; and after the murder of *one Prince*, and the happy Restoration of *another*, does still advance

vence the same Doctrines to animate the Party to a fresh Rebellion, whatever Arguments are used to refute the Error, 'tis the justest Law, and the highest Reason imaginable, that such a Person, should be refer'd to the Judgment of a Jury for his Conviction; and 'tis not his bold charge (against the Officers of Justice,) [that the Pannel are not able to comprehend his Politics] that will impeach their Verdict.

Sid. The Gentleman goes on thus, But there was little of this in my case; the extravagance of my Prosecutors goes higher: The above mentioned Treatise was never finish'd, nor could be in many years, and most probably would never have been. So much as is of it, was written long since, never reviewed nor shewn unto any Man; and the Fiftieth Part of it was produc'd; and in the Tenth of that offer'd to be read. That which was never known unto those, who are said to have conspired with me, was said to be intended to stir up the People in Prosecution of the Designs of those Conspirators.

When nothing of particular Application unto Time, Place, or Person could be found in it; (as hath ever been done by those who endeavour'd to raise Insurrections) all was supplied by Innuendo's.

Answer. That He made not an end of his Treatise might be, because He found the Task too hard, and therefore the knots He could not untie he resolv'd to confound.

Or perhaps He might be impatient of delay, and having confirm'd his Doctrine as well as He could, He made haste to come to Application; and having laid down this for his Major Proposition, That all Tyrants are to be destroy'd; he was well assur'd His Party knew his meaning by his conferences; and would take the Motion for granted, and so fall on with Rage and Malice to make the Conclusion by force of Arms. That

See Tryal,
p. 23, 24, 25.

That the whole Treatise was not read was a pitifull
Cavill. We know Gentlemen are not at leisure to read
whole *Volumens* when they sit in a *Chair* of Justice. Be-
sides, if the Devil himself were to write a Book, no
doubt there would be something good in it. And
whereas He talks of *Innuendos*, as if He could not be
reach'd without a distant, and far-fetcht Inference,
there was enough produc'd at his Tryal, in words at
length to do his business.

Sid. But He says, I was long since told, that I must
die, or the Plot must die.

Answer. Having been so long and so well acquainted
with the Good Old Cause, and having espous'd the late
Plot which was the Daughter of it, 'tis pity that any
thing should divorce them, that as they long had
liv'd, so they should at last have died together.

Sid. Lest the means of destroying the Best Protestants
in England should fail, the Bench must be fill'd with such
as had been Blemishes to the Bar.

None but such as these would have advised with the
King's Council; of the means of bringing a Man to
Death; suffered a Jury to be pack'd by the King's Sollicitor,
and the under Sheriff; admit of Jury-Men who
are not Free-holders; receive such Evidence as is above
mentioned; refuse a Copy of an Indictment, or to suf-
fer the Statute of 46. Edw. 3. To be read, that hath
expressly enact, It should in no case be denied unto any
Man upon any Occasion whatsoever; over-rule the most
important Points of Law without hearing. And whereas
the Stat. 25. Edw. 3. upon which they said I should be
tried, hath reserve unto the Parliament all Construction
to be made in Points of Treason, They could assume unto
Themselves not only a Power to make Constructions; but
such Constructions as neither agree with Law, Reason,
or common Sense.

Answer.

Answer. 'Tis nothing strange, that a Person who despises Dominion, should speak evil of Dignities; yet our Rule is express to the contrary; *Thou shalt not revile the Gods (or Judges) nor Curse the Ruler of thy People;* nor is it consonant to that Spirit of Meekness, which the Laws of our Christianity commend unto us; He might have learn'd a better Lesson, not only from Our Blessed Saviour, who was as a Lamb dumb before the Shearer; but from Michael also the Arch-Angel, who tho He had a sharp contest with the Devil about the Body of Moses (which might be the Common-wealth of Israel, his Body Politick) yet He durst not bring against Him a railing Accusation.

Exod. 22. 28.

The Proceedings He complains of, no doubt were Just and Legal: But these Men have diverse Weights and Measures, an *Epha* and an *Epha*; and are loth to be tryed by the same Rules, which they use to condemn others by. When they bring before the Bar such as they malign, no Proceedings can be severe enough; but, when it comes to their own Turn, that Justice is meted out to them according to their own measure, then they complain, 'tis too severe and rigorous; neither agreeable with Law, Reason or Common Sense; But the Pen and Tongue of a Malefactor are no slander to his Judges.

Mr. Sidney closes his Paper thus: *By these means I am brought to this Place. The Lord forgive these Practices, and avert the Evils that threaten the Nation from them. The Lord Sanctifie these my sufferings unto me; and though I fall as a Sacrifice unto Idols, suffer not Idolatry to be established in this Land. Bless thy People, and save them. Defend thy own Cause, and defend those that defend it. Stir up such as are faint; Direct those that are willing; Confirm those that waver. Give Wisdom and Integrity unto all. Order all things so as*
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may most redound unto thine own Glory. Grant that I may die glorifying Thee for all thy Mercies ; and that at the last, Thou hast permitted me to be singled out as a Witness of thy Truth ; and even by the Confession of my Opposers, for that Old Cause, in which I was from my Youth engaged ; and for which Thou hast often and wonderfully declared thy self.

Answer. Who can expect, that an humble, and well temper'd Prayer, should follow such a Preface, as we met withal in the last Paragraph of his Paper ?

Though He was very early engaged in the late Rebellion, yet I hope he did not *Covenant against Repentance*, though he gives us little or nothing of the fruits or signs of it. [He seems to have so much of the Pharisee in his Moral constitution, as to over-look all his own faults. Offences against his Prince he will not own ; and, as if there had been no guilt upon Him in the fight of God, He scorns to own such an *ungenerous Practice* as to ask *His Pardon*.]

Yet, They were the Principles, which He profess'd and practis'd, that did both threaten and afflict the Nation ; but having at last brought Him to the Block with several of the Accomplices to their deserved execution, we hope, the Justice which has been done upon them, will be a means to avert those Evils, which their wicked *Pursuits* would have brought upon us.

He says, *He sells a Sacrifice to Idols* ; but what Idols He has not told us ; but St. Paul tells us, *We know, that an Idol is nothing in the World*. But let Him take that, if He please, for St. Austin's Nothing, and that is nothing else but *Sin* ; and in that Sense, indeed He sell a *Sacrifice to Idols* ; that is, to his own *Treason and Conspiracy*, which are the Idols He persuades His Party still to support and serve.

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What means He else by Praying for the *Prosperity* of that Cause which hath fill'd the Nation with *Blood and Violence*, and has been an *Astonishment* to the whole World? Though he might have his *Religion* to choose, (professing none either on the *Scaffold*, or in his *Paper*,) yet, herein he plays the Part of a fond *Idolater*, and call'd upon the Lord to abet his Party in the *establishment* of that *Moloch*; and indeed what better Religion could be expected from him, who, (it report has not bely'd Him,) made choice of *Tully* for his *Evangelist*, and his *Offices* for the *Gospel* of his Salvation, to conduct his thoughts to the Joys and Comforts of another life.

He concludes his Paper with a kind of *Επιμνησιν* or *triumphant Consolation*, but He deludes Himself, more like a *Turk* than a *Christian*, by the misconstruction of *success*, and the dubious *Events* of Providence.

He Flatters Almighty God into Their Party, and tells Him, *Thou hast often and wonderfully declar'd thy self for that Old Cause in which I was from my youth engaged.*

He should have considered, That the Devil's *Device* and *Malice* may be in the *Conspiracy*, tho God is pleas'd to *Declare* Himself in the *Insurrection* that insues it.

David was under a very sad Dispensation, when He was forc'd to flee out of *Jerusalem*, to make his escape from the Sword of *Absolom*, when He went up by the *Ascent* of *Mount Olivet*, He wept as He went up, and his Head covered, and he went bare foot: And ^{2 Sam. 15.} all the People that was with Him, covered every Man his Head, and they went up weeping as they went up; They were uncertain whether they should ever return again to *Jerusalem*; The good King might have taken up that Lamentation, *Lord where are thy old loving kindesses which thou swarest unto David in thy*

Psal. 98.

Truth? Thou hast overthrown all his Hedges, and driven Him from his strong-holds. All they that go by spoil Him, and He is become a rebuke to His Neighbours: Thou hast set up the right Hand of His Enemies, and made all his Adversaries to rejoyce, Thou hast put out his Glory and cast His Crown down to the Ground.

The Kings condition we see was very sad, and he was reduc'd to great straits and hardship; yet, for all this, *Achitophel* was a *Traitor*, and *Absolom* a *Rebel*; tho they might flatter Themselves with fair hopes of Victory, yet the guilt in both was Damnable.

But rather then they should go unpunished, a senseless *Oak* became an *Esquire Ketch* to the *Ambitious Rebel*, and his own *Beast* turn'd Him off, and left him dangling betwixt Heaven and Earth in torments; and the *crafty Traitor* (who had been of the *Privy Council* to the *Pious King*) turn'd so *Loyal an Officer* to just vengeance, that He became his own *Executioner*.

But did God really so often, and so wonderfully declare Himself for that Cause? Was that Declaration made by an *Oracle*? Or a *Voice from Heaven*? Or only by the *Effects of Providence*? And what *Commentaries* have they to teach them the meaning of such Divine Declarations? Why, God declar'd Himself all the ways forementioned, for the *Arraignment and Prosecution* of his beloved Son: When *both Herod, and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the People of Israel, were gathered together against the Holy Child Jesus, whom God had anointed*; the Holy Text says, *God had his own Counsel, and hand amongst them*. And yet our Saviour tells them plainly, They acted by the instigation of the Devil; *This is your hour, and the Power of darkness*.

Acts 4. 27, 28.

Luke 22. 53.

And I pray tell me, were not all the *Methods and Devices* of Satan legible in the *Practice and Proceeding*

ding of that *Fanatick Faction*, against our King of ever blessed Memory? Was not that *Old Cause* managed by Hypocrisy and Fraud, and carryed on by Lyes and Slanders, Leagues, and Perjuries, by Sedition and Sacriledge, by Blood and Violence? And are not these the notorious works of the Devil?

But on the other side; In the defeat of that *Old Cause*, God declar'd Himself, not only *Wise* and *Just*, but *merciful* and *Gracious* to a *Miracle*. This appear'd, not only to the Joy and Satisfaction of the *Loyal*; but also, to the Surprize and Astonishment of the *Rebel-Party*; and it was *evident*, as well in the sudden and *unexpected* Atcheivement, as in the *little*, or *no visible means* at all, to effect it.

The Song of the *Psalmist* was then ours, *When the Lord turned our Captivity, then were we like unto them that dream*; His Majesty's happy return to his Kingdoms, was to us, a *Resurrection*, and (like the *Restitution* of the Jewish Nation) *Life from the Dead*.

Rom. 11. 15.

The Church therefore doth worthily celebrate this His Majesties *Restauration* as *Miraculous*; and besides all other *Wonders* that attended, we have *An Act of Parliament* to warrant it.

The *First Collect* for May 29. is: O Lord God of Our *Salvation*, who hast been exceedingly *Gracious* unto this *Land*, and by thy *Miraculous Providence* hast delivered us out of our late miserable *Confusions*, by *Restoring* to us our *Dread Sovereign Lord*, thy *Servant*, King *Charles*; We are now here before thee with all due *thankfulness*, to acknowledge thine *unspeakable Goodness* this *Day shewed unto Us*; and to offer up our *Sacrifices of Praise* unto thy *Glorious Name*, humbly beseeching thee to accept this our *unfeigned, though unworthy Oblation* of our selves; vowing all *Holy Obedience in Thought, Word,*

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Word, and Work, and by Divine Majesty; and
wishing in thee, and for thee, all Loyal and Dutiful Al-
legiance to thine Anointed Servant, and to his Heirs af-
ter Him: Whom we beseech that to bless with all increase
of Grace, Honour, and Happiness in this World, and
to Crown Him with Immortality and Glory in the World
to come; for Jesus Christ his sake, our only Lord and
Saviour. Amen.

but merciful and Gracious to a King, and to a King
not only to the joy and satisfaction of the King,
also to the service and Advancement of the King-
dom; and it was evident, as well in the manner
and manner of Advancement, as in the words,
as in the manner of all, to effect it.

The Song of the Church was then sung, which
was a new and a happy return to his King-
dom; His Majesty's happy return to his King-
dom was to us, a Resurrection, and (like the Resur-
rection of the Jewish Nation) Life from the Dead.

The Church then joyfully celebrated this
His Majesty's Resurrection; and besides
all other Wonders that attended, we have an Act of
Parliament to warrant it.

The King's Call for his people is: O ye Godly
Sons, who have been exceedingly Gracious unto this
King, and by the Miraculous Providence hath deliver-
ed us out of our late miserable Condition, by Restoring
to us our Dear Sovereign Lord, the Great King;
Charles; We now beseech thee with all our thank-
s, to acknowledge thine unparallel'd Goodness this
day, and to offer up our Sacrifices of
praise unto thy Glorious Name, humbly beseeching thee
to accept this our petition, though unworthy of thine
earliest; coming all thy Obedience in Thank-
fulness.